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CONFIDENTIAL PTQ1633

PAGE 01. STATE 295161 011748Z

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DRAFTED BY: AF/C: KCAISTON

APPROVED BY: AF/FO: PXBUSHNELL

AF/C: AXRENDER. AF/C: RJFENDRICK

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O R 011742Z NOV 94 FM SECSTATE WASHDC TO AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE INFO RWANDA COLLECTIVE

CONFIDENTIAL STATE 295161

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PREL PHUM PREF BY

SUBJECT: BUYOYA'S REGIONAL CONCERNS; HARDLINER KADUGA'S AGENDA

- 1. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT.
- 2. SUMMARY. ON OCTOBER 28, FORMER BURUNDI PRESIDENT PIERRE BUYOYA PAID A CALL ON AF DAS BUSHNELL AND CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 295161 011748Z

EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT THE REGIONAL SITUATION. HE
CHARACTERIZED THE RWANDAN REFUGEES AS A "TIME BOMB" AND
CALLED FOR BLUE HELMETS IN THE CAMPS. BUYOYA URGED THE
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO ASSIST THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT
(GOR) AND SAID NATIONAL RECONCILIATION WAS THE ONLY
VIABLE POLICY FOR THE GOR. ON BURUNDI, BUYOYA CALLED FOR
PRESSURE ON THE PARTIES, PARTICULARLY THE EXTREMISTS, TO
COMMIT TO PEACE. BUYOYA DISMISSED THE THEORY THAT THE
RPA HAD KILLED THE FIFTY REFUGEES NEAR THE BORDER AND
ATTRIBUTED THE ATTACK TO THOSE IN THE CAMPS WHO WANT THE
GOR'S POLICY OF REPATRIATION TO FAIL. DAS BUSHNELL

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OUTLINED OUR EFFORTS TO PROMOTE REPATRIATION, RECONCILIATION, AND ACCOUNTABILITY FOR RWANDA. SHE EXPLAINED THAT WE WERE WORKING HARD ON THE CAMP SECURITY ISSUE AND STRESSED THAT WE ARE PRESSING FOR A REGIONAL REFUGEE CONFERENCE.

3. THE DAY BEFORE THE BUYOYA MEETING.
CALLED ON AF/C
RWANDA/BURUNDI DESKOFF. SAID HE FAVORED
DEPLOYMENT OF A NEUTRAL INTERNATIONAL FORCE IN BURUNDI TO
RESTRUCTURE THE BURUNDI MILITARY, CREATION OF AN
INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL FOR BURUNDI, AND AN INTERNATIONAL
CONFERENCE ON BURUNDI TO AGREE ON THE NEED FOR REFORM OF
THE MILITARY. BLAMED THE RPA FOR THE ATTACK ON
THE REFUGEES IN NORTHERN BURUNDI. END SUMMARY
BUYOYA CONCERNED ABOUT RWANDA, REFUGEES, AND THE REGION

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 295161 011748Z

4. BUYOYA STRESSED THAT BURUNDI'S STABILITY WAS TIED TO THE REGIONAL SITUATION, WHICH HE DESCRIBED AS "VERY SERIOUS." ACCORDING TO BUYOYA, THE RWANDAN REFUGEES WERE A POTENTIAL "TIME BOMB." THE CAMPS CANNOT BE SUPPORTED FOREVER, AND THE SITUATION CANNOT BE MAINTAINED FOR LONG. WITHOUT PEACE IN RWANDA, THERE COULD BE NO REAL PEACE IN BURUNDI OR THE REGION. HE STRESSED THE NEED FOR THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO ASSIST RWANDA AND GET THE REFUGEE PROBLEM UNDER CONTROL.

- 5. DAS BUSHNELL ASKED WHAT EXACTLY HE THOUGHT SHOULD BE DONE. BUYOYA REPLIED THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SHOULD WORK TO ENCOURAGE THE RETURN OF THE GREAT MAJORITY OF THE REFUGEES. HE WANTED TO SEE BLUE HELMETS IN THE REFUGEE CAMPS TO COUNTER THE INTIMIDATION AND PROPAGANDA OF THE EX-FAR AND MILITIAS, WHICH HE BELIEVED SHOULD BE SEPARATED FROM THE REFUGEES. IN HIS OPINION, IF THIS INTIMIDATION WERE ENDED, THE "MASS OF THE PEASANTS" WOULD RETURN.
- 6. BUYOYA ALSO URGED SUPPORT FOR THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT SO THAT IT CAN PURSUE NATIONAL RECONCILIATION.
 RESPONDING TO A QUESTION FROM DAS BUSHNELL, BUYOYA SAID HE THOUGHT THE GOR WAS SINCERE IN ITS COMMITMENT TO NATIONAL RECONCILIATION. HE SAID THIS WAS THEIR PUBLICLY.

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL

B6

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ESPOUSED POLICY AND WAS, IN HIS VIEW, THE ONLY POLICY THAT COULD WORK; GIVEN THE "MINORITY STATUS" OF THE RPF, BUYOYA SAW NO OTHER POSSIBLE SOLUTION. HE EXPRESSLY STATED THAT A POLICY OF "ETHNIC DOMINATION" WAS NOT POSSIBLE. BUYOYA ADDED THAT IT TAKES TWO TO RECONCILE, BUT THE "OTHER SIDE" IS NOT RESPONDING. HE URGED THE CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04	STATE	295	161	011748Z		
INTERNATIONAL	COMMUNITY	OT 3	PUT	PRESSURE	ON	"THEM."

DAS BUSHNELL: USG IS WORKING HARD TO ADDRESS ISSUES

- 7. DAS BUSHNELL SAID WE WERE IN COMPLETE AGREEMENT WITH BUYOYA ON THE SERIOUSNESS OF THESE PROBLEMS. SHE ASSURED HIM WE WERE WORKING VERY HARD, BUT THAT IT TAKES GREAT EFFORT AND TIME. SHE OUTLINED OUR EFFORTS TO PROMOTE RECONCILIATION, REPATRIATION, AND ACCOUNTABILITY, AND NOTED THAT WE WERE PUSHING DEPLOYMENT OF UNAMIR AND HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS, TAKING A LEADERSHIP POSITION IN PRESSING FOR THE INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL, ASSISTING THE GOR WITH ITS WORLD BANK ARREARS, ENCOURAGING OTHER DONORS TO ASSIST AS WELL, AND LOOKING AT OTHER AREAS OF BILATERAL ASSISTANCE.
- 8. DAS BUSHNELL SAID THE ISSUE OF SECURITY IN THE CAMPS HAD PREOCCUPIED US AND OTHER GOVERNMENTS FOR SOME TIME. SHE EXPLAINED THE DIFFICULTIES IN FINDING GOVERNMENTS THAT MIGHT BE WILLING TO TAKE ON THE TASK OF SEPARATING OUT AND MOVING THE EX-FAR AND MILITIAS. SHE ASSURED BUYOYA THAT WE ARE ACTIVELY DISCUSSING THE PROBLEM AND THAT A POLICY WAS BEING FORMULATED.
- 9. DAS BUSHNELL SAID WE WERE PRESSING FOR MOVEMENT ON THE PLANS TO HOLD A REGIONAL REFUGEE CONFERENCE AND HOPED THERE WOULD BE A PREPARATORY CONFERENCE BEFORE THE END OF THE YEAR. BUYOYA WELCOMED THIS AND SAID IT WAS ESSENTIAL THAT THE COUNTRIES OF THE REGION MEET. HOWEVER, HE CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 295161 011748Z
CAUTIONED THAT WE SHOULD NOT WAIT TO ADDRESS THE URGENT REFUGEE AND SECURITY ISSUES UNTIL SUCH A CONFERENCE CAN BE ARRANGED. DAS BUSHNELL ASSURED HIM THAT THE

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL

B1

B1

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL
Current Handling: n/a

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IS WORKING ON THESE PROBLEMS
NOW. BUYOYA STRESSED THAT THE PLANNED CONFERENCE NEEDED
TO BE WELL-PREPARED AND SHOULD FOCUS ON COMMON REGIONAL
ISSUES. HE WAS WORRIED THAT SOME IN BURUNDI EXPECTED TOO
MUCH OF THE CONFERENCE AND WANTED IT TO SOLVE ALL OF
BURUNDI'S PROBLEMS.

BUYOYA ON BURUNDI POLITICS, RECENT VIOLENCE

10. WHILE BUYOYA SAW THE RECENT POLITICAL CONVENTION AS AN IMPORTANT ACHIEVEMENT, HE STRESSED THAT MUCH WORK AND MANY DIFFICULTIES STILL LIE AHEAD. NONETHELESS, HE THOUGHT THAT, WITH CONTINUED FRANK DIALOGUE, PROGRESS SHOULD CONTINUE. DAS BUSHNELL ASKED WHAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY COULD DO TO HELP PROMOTE STABILITY IN BURUNDI. BUYOYA URGED CONTINUED EFFORT TO ADDRESS THE REGIONAL PROBLEM AND PRESSURE ON THE PARTIES IN BURUNDI TO COMMIT TO PEACE. HE SAID EXTREMISTS MUST BE DISCOURAGED AND WARNED THAT WHILE EXTREMIST GROUPS ARE NOT VERY STRONG, THE SYSTEM IS SO FRAGILE THAT THEY COULD OVERTURN IT.

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BURUNDI FROM ANOTHER (EXTREMIST) POINT OF VIEW

13. THE DAY BEFORE THE BUYOYA MEETING,

PAID A CALL ON RWANDA/BURUNDI DESKOFF AISTON. DESPITE

WHO WAS HERE ON A PRIVATE

VISIT, CAME ACROSS AS A HARDLINE FRODEBISTE. THE MEETING
WAS IN STARK CONTRAST TO THE SESSION WITH BUYOYA (THE
ONLY POINT THAT BOTH SEEMED TO AGREE ON WAS THAT THE
SITUATION IS SERIOUS).

14. BLAMED THE RPA FOR THE RECENT REFUGEE
KILLINGS IN NORTHERN BURUNDI AND STRESSED THAT THE
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 07 STATE 295161 011748Z
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY MUST HELP BURUNDI TO MAKE SURE
THAT THE BURUNDI ARMY IS NOT ALLOWED TO ACT LIKE THE
RPA. HE CHALLENGED THE LEGAL AND POLITICAL UNDERPINNINGS
OF THE MULTIPARTY CONVENTION THAT PUT THE NEW PRESIDENT
AND GOVERNMENT IN PLACE AND SAID THE AGREEMENT WAS
LIMITED TO A FEW POLITICIANS IN BUJUMBURA. HE CALLED FOR
THREE ACTIONS TO ADDRESS BURUNDI'S PROBLEMS:

- -- DEPLOYMENT OF A NEUTRAL INTERNATIONAL FORCE TO "RESTRUCTURE" THE BURUNDI MILITARY AND PROVIDE SECURITY SO THAT THE HUTUS WILL VOLUNTARILY GIVE UP THEIR OWN ARMS,
- -- CREATION OF AN INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL FOR BURUNDI ALONG THE LINES OF THE PLANNED RWANDA TRIBUNAL, AND
- -- HOLDING OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON BURUNDI, WHICH WOULD AGREE THAT THE BURUNDI ARMY NEEDS RESTRUCTURING AND WOULD "MEDIATE" THE DIVIDE IN BURUNDI AND POINT OUT WHO'S RIGHT AND WHO'S WRONG. (COMMENT:

 IS PRESUMABLY IN THE CLASS OF BURUNDIANS WHO, IN BUYOYA'S VIEW, EXPECT TOO MUCH FROM A REGIONAL CONFERENCE).

IN RESPONSE, RWANDA/BURUNDI DESKOFF STRESSED THE NEED FOR BURUNDIANS TO WORK TOGETHER AND MAINTAIN A DIALOGUE.

15. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. CHRISTOPHER

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